1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

the important Yunnanese officials to the feast. There he had his bodyguards murder two of them right in the dining hall; the rest were imprisoned or banished.[12]

Of middle height, with a strong face, Yang looked remarkably dignified; but he was a cunning and suspicious person. He ruled the province as an autocrat, taking very little notice of the Central Government in Peking. Though the central authorities made several attempts to depose or retire him, he kept his position by a mixture of bribery and force. Officials sent from Peking were either held up at his headquarters until he was sure that they did not or could not oppose him, or given presents and politely sent back. In the fifteen years of his rule he built up a family hierarchy, posting his relatives from one end of the province to the other. In 1927 all the district magistrates in southernmost Sinkiang, from Keriya to Kashgar, with two or three exceptions, were related to him either directly or by marriage.

Throughout his rule, Yang was troubled by the fear of revolt, and showed an extreme caution in handling people and affairs. Chinese and foreign newspapers were regularly censored. Any news that might encourage disturbances was excluded from the province as far as possible. No newspapers were permitted in the Uighur or Kazakh languages.[13] The telegraph office at Yang's headquarters was attended to by the Governor himself. He locked and unlocked the door every day, and the office staff were not allowed to talk with outsiders. He himself took custody of all important documents, which could not be consulted, even by heads of bureaus, without his permission.

Yang made an important change in the lower or "native" administration at the level of the Begs, or Uighur "headmen." At some time prior to 1910, and probably shortly after Sinkiang became a province, the Chinese administration had given these

[12] This story is told by Hsieh Pin, in his *Account of Travels in Sinkiang*, Shanghai, 1925, p. 135 (in Chinese). The author was the inspector from Peking who was present at the feast.

[13] W. Bosshard, "Politics and Trade in Central Asia," in *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London, 1929, Vol. 16, pt. 4, 438; also Hsieh Pin, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

* 175 622 Begs the Chinese designation of *Hsiang Yeh* ("District Elders"). Chinese magistrates came and went, but these Hsiang Yeh often held office for twenty or thirty years, or even for life. In this way the Uighur District Elder, solidly entrenched, often had an advantage over his superior, the temporary Chinese magistrate. Not infrequently a wealthy and locally powerful Elder, dismissed by a higher Chinese official, was able to obtain reinstatement when there was a change of administration. In 1915 Yang Tseng-hsin found a device which undermined this kind of local strength. He ordered that District Elders must first be locally elected; then recommended by the Chinese magistrate; and finally appointed by himself. After appointment, the District Elder might be dismissed at any time, but had the privilege of re-election.[14] The significance of this ladder of election, recommendation, and appointment was that it was also a ladder by which talebearers could reach the provincial capital and make accusations against locally powerful men.

* 175 As a bureaucrat of the old school Yang was both generous in cultivating good will and severe in punishing offenses, with the result that the tales told about him reflected the popular conviction that even in justice he was despotic. According to one of these tales the old Governor, while walking in the streets of his capital like a Harun al-Rashid, saw a soldier stealing boots from a shop. After watching him successfully remove fourteen pairs, he shot him.[15] At the same time, he was generous to Russian refugees in Sinkiang; for many of them he found employment, to others he gave money allowances. It was also said that he gave money for the education in Peking of the son of Fan Yao-nan, his Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, the man who in the end murdered him.

In his policy toward the non-Chinese nationalities in Sinkiang, Yang Tseng-hsin followed tradition in setting one people against another, and also in exploiting quarrels between factions within

[14] Tseng Wen-wu, *Chung Ku Kin Ying Hsi Yü Shih*, Shanghai, 1936, p. 592 (in Chinese).

[15] Anonymous, "His Excellency Yang Tsen-hsing," in *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London, 1929. Vol. 16, pt. 1, pp. 88–89.

2: Norins S-4 (1939-1941) 1944 All Sinkiang All
Mongol
Kirghiz

562 There is, on the whole, a stirring, Wild West attractiveness about her
177 appearance, this Kalmuck Mongol, even as she goes about the tasks of preparing cheese, chopping wood, or milking.

Nor is she necessarily an ignorant woman. A Mongol princess of Tihwa, for example, has studied English in Pei-p'ing, French and medicine at Brussels, and in addition speaks Russian as well as her native tongue. The problem of so-called Oriental conservatism, according to this woman's views, may have originated in a desire to be undisturbed. But she, and other Mongol intelligentsia, are alert and modest enough to admit that out of the creativeness of the Occident new light is being shed on how man might best live; from the history of such as she and her ancestors, the Occident has in its turn much to learn.

The Kirgiz

563 Another of the fascinating ethnic groups that roam the Sinkiang
773 mountains and steppes are the Kirgiz. They are the people whom a legendary white Prester John is said to have ruled in the Middle Ages, and they are supposed to have introduced the Christianity of Nestorius to Asia. The Kirgiz are related to the old Uighurs also, it seems, and were powerful in the Altai region in the centuries just preceding the Mongol invasion. They, like the Mongols, are horsemen; but their homeland is in the steep crags, the narrow mountain trails and not so much in the steppes. Those who now live in the Pamirs fringing Southwest Sinkiang have their own legends of origin. It seems that there were once *kirk kiz*, "forty maidens," who became pregnant and so gave birth to the Kirgiz people. One version of the story is that they had intercourse with a red dog; another, that they dipped their fingers in a magic stream; a third, that the foam of Lake Issyk Kul served as the needed sperm.

795 Moslems of the Sunni order, the Kirgiz vest their tribal government
622 in the hands of elders whose dicta are strictly respected. These elders adjudicate a multitude of questions such as those of petty thievery, pas-
695 toral boundaries, and property settlements. No foreigner is supposed to witness a Kirgiz court, which often meets in an ante-room of an *ak-ui* or *kirga*—the native tent dwelling. Adjournment of the court is sig-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Kŏk Moinak pass (15,400 feet) which was quite free of snow. There was only one serious obstacle on the way up, and that was within a couple of miles of the Darshart camping-place. The path had been entirely washed away by the stream, which cascaded for a hundred yards between perpendicular walls, and it was further partially blocked by masses of ice jutting out over the stream-bed. It took us, working hard, over an hour to get the caravan up through these narrows. Our camp that night, at 14,500 feet on the Chichiklik (" speckled," i.e. flowery) plateau, was the highest we had yet had.

From Chichiklik the shortest route to Toilebulung is down through the Tangitar or " Dark Gorge," which from all accounts is well named, so narrow and dark is it and so rough and boulder-strewn the stream-bed. In the high-water season it is dangerous, and we preferred to go two marches round by the Yambulak *Jilgha* (valley). On the way we crossed the Yangi Davan (New Pass) the top of which was covered with wide but firm-surfaced snow-fields and proved to be 16,100 feet above the sea. This was the highest pass we crossed between Srinagar and Kashgar. From the top, to our surprise and delight, we saw below us to the north a beautiful lake of purest sapphire lapped in the snowy peaks at the head of the Yambulak valley. This lake is not shown on any map; it is quite half a mile broad and when we saw it was still, owing to the great elevation (15,500 feet), partially covered with the ice of winter.

In the Yambulak Jilgha we made our first acquaintance with unspoilt, off-the-beaten-track Kirghiz of the type we were afterwards to know and like so well. Five miles down from the pass, in the middle of one of the sudden but short-lived summer blizzards of the Pamirs, we found the headman of the little community, Ibrahim Beg, and his son Juma waiting for us with tea and a small carpet spread out on the wet ground. Politeness dictated a halt of at least five minutes while we made a pretence of sipping the salty tea (the Kirghiz cannot afford sugar in their tea, so they use salt, though they much prefer their tea sweet) and felt the snowflakes insinuating themselves down our necks. Two miles further down at a height of 12,650 feet, we came to the *aq-ois*, pitched on either side of the brawling stream in a sheltered bend of the valley. The afternoon sun now shone strongly again, and as we passed the first huts its rays illumined exquisitely an idyllic scene—three or four Kirghiz girls in their quaint dresses and turbans

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

been record time. Gerard's pony also tried to break the flat-racing record for Kashgaria on this stretch, with the result that four miles out of Suget we came up with G. standing ruefully by his steed and holding half of one of its hoofs in his hand ; it had put its foot into a hole, split its hoof, crossed its legs and turned head over heels all at once, it appeared. Fortunately the ground was soft. In a leafy suburb of Yangi Hissar we were welcomed with mounds of toffee, melons of vast size and many loyal speeches by the Indian Shylocks of the town. Further on the District Magistrate and the Commandant of the Garrison met us and we went through the formality of the official tea-drinking. The Amban was a complete contrast to him of Tashqurghan ; he was a stout, clean-shaven, intelligent type of person, rather like a mediæval monk. He had once, he told us, been a student at the Peking law-schools and had served as a judge somewhere on the coast. The Celestial effect of his black satin coat and his cream-coloured silk skirt covering close-fitting white calico trousers was somewhat spoilt by a bowler hat which had seen better days.

Escorted by the local soldiery we moved slowly in procession into Yangi Hissar. It was a relief to enter the cool, dustless streets of the bazaars, which here are not domed as in Persia but roofed after a fashion with sacking and wattles. The shops struck us as neater and cleaner than those of India or Persia, the counters of the many food-shops, fruiterers, butchers, etc., being well scrubbed. The Chinese shops are particularly neat and tidy, and reminded one of village " general shops " at home.

Hardly had we arrived at the garden of the empty Swedish Mission bungalow when the Amban and Commandant, most courteously according to Chinese ideas, came to call. Fortunately the Aqsaqal had prepared tea and a noble spread of fruit and sweets. During this function we were treated to a little bit of Chinese servants' manners which very nearly upset our equilibrium for good and all. When he sat down, the Amban took off his bowler and handed it to his servant, who stood behind his chair. The servant, who already wore a decrepit Homburg, took the Amban's hat and coolly, as if it were the most natural thing to do with it, clapped it on top of his own ! During the rest of the meal we all had to keep our eyes firmly averted from the two-hatted servant, for anything more ludicrous than the sight of his solemn, old-family-butler face surmounted by the Amban's seedy

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

bowler and his own archaic Homburg, one on top of the other, cannot be imagined.

We thought we were going to have the comfortable Mission house to sleep in, but it appeared that owing to a mistake the keys had not been obtained from the missionaries at Kashgar, who are kind enough always to put the house at the disposal of the Consulate if required. Nothing else having been arranged we had eventually to doss down in a small farm-house on the outskirts of the town. It was not very comfortable, but we made the best of it and by half-past six I was able to change my clothes and drive round to call on the Amban, the Commandant and an ex-Amban who was still living in the town. In almost every district we visited in our subsequent wanderings we found one, sometimes two, ex-Ambans. Apparently it takes months, even years, to hand over charge, owing presumably to the mess in which each Magistrate gets his work, particularly the financial side of it. So much so, I believe, that it is the custom in China for his friends to congratulate an official formally on the successful handing over of his charge. Next day before proceeding on our journey, we attended an official lunch at the Yamen, where we were received with much pomp and ceremony including a salute of three "guns," or rather bangs from small mortars stuck upright in the ground. The decorations of the room in which we lunched, though faded, were in excellent taste; red chairs covered with black silk; a few panels of decorative Chinese writing; windows of a kind of fretwork in chaste geometrical designs, with ancient lace instead of glass, and little else in the room beyond the table. A Chinese feast is so long and complicated an affair that it merits more detailed description than I can afford it here, and I must therefore refer the reader to a later chapter.[1] Suffice it to say that we were as much impressed by the courtesy and considerateness of our host as by the fearful tinned and dried delicacies from China Proper such as shark's fin, sea-slugs, fish-entrails, seaweed and bamboo-root on which he appeared to pride himself most. All these *plats* seemed to us to consist of substances either glutinous or messy, or both, and to taste of nothing in particular.

Wayside tea-drinkings similar to those of the day before, but in the reverse order, heralded our departure from Yangi Hissar in a landau kindly sent out for us from Kashgar by the Taoyin. Twenty miles of perfectly flat country, alternating

[1] See Ch. VI, pp. 82–84.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

not favourably impressed. For Asiatics—I do not judge them by our lower Western standards—most of the Tungans we saw were remarkably bad-mannered. Whenever either of us tried to buy anything in the bazaars, either at Bai or at the New City of Aqsu, great louts of Tungans would stand round and exchange what were obviously comments on our appearance and behaviour, bursting every now and again into loud guffaws. We were not very sorry to leave Bai, though we greatly regretted that time did not permit of a visit to the far more interesting and important town of Kucha.

The 107 miles *viâ* Abad to Aqsu Old City occupied five days. Our first halt was at the flourishing village of Yaka Ariq on the right bank of the Muzart River. The main road for the next 50 miles lies almost entirely over barren and uninteresting country, so we left it and made due westwards for the curious red hills of Abad, among which I had hopes of another chance at the wild sheep. Camping for the night at Ilkache, the last oasis of the Muzart Valley cultivation, I rose before dawn and spent a long morning scouring the hills, but saw only several herds of antelope. Meanwhile D. and the caravan struck camp at a more reasonable hour and marched to a low pass among the hills appropriately named the Topa Dawan or "Dusty Pass," where I met them at midday. It was here that we made a new and most picturesque acquaintance, the Kirghiz headman of Qara Bulaq, Hushur Beg. As I approached the "Dusty Pass" I saw the solitary figure of a man on a horse standing on the crest of a ridge. This proved on closer inspection to be a youngish Kirghiz with a high-cheek-boned, weather-beaten face, mounted on a shaggy little Kalmuck pony. On his right wrist, which was protected by a large white fleece gauntlet and supported on the saddle by a wooden prop, he carried a magnificent hooded *qara qush* or black hunting-eagle. This bird, I afterwards found, measured three feet from beak to tail and over seven feet from wing-tip to wing-tip; it was a dull black in colour, with a ruff of rust-coloured feathers, yellow claws, black beak with yellow base and fine red-brown eyes. From the near side of Hushur Beg's saddle dangled an object which puzzled me at first; it proved to be the lure with which he attracted the bird back from wandering, and consisted of a large ball made of skin from the heads of antelopes. The Beg turned out to be a thoroughly good type of man and a real sportsman, very different from the lazy and untrustworthy "Taghliks" of Pakalik and Tarlak.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

He was passionately fond of hawking and "eagling," if one may coin the word; he used hawks for hares and other small game, eagles for antelopes and sometimes wolves. He told me he would not part with his favourite *qara qush* for a hundred taels, though it was very fierce and had more than once clawed him when hungry and rashly unhooded. I noticed that he held the string attached to its hood in his teeth, and that after unhooding it for a moment so that I could take a photograph of the two of them, he put the hood on again at once with his bridle hand. He pointed out to me the precipitous red sandstone cliffs above Abad where it had been netted as a fledgeling.

He also told me about his hawks, among which he prized most a white one from the Altai. All over Central Asia these white hawks,[1] which are exceedingly difficult to get, are highly prized, though their performances are not, I believe, in any way superior to those of ordinary falcons. They are occasionally brought from Ili to the Aqsu market, where they fetch from fifty to a hundred taels or more. Almost every year the Mehtar (Chief) of Chitral, the Mir of Nagar or some such potentate from the Indian frontier sends men up to Kashgar to try and buy a white hawk; as often as not the messenger returns empty-handed.

Three days later we marched through the narrow and dirty but picturesque wood-and-mud-brick bazaars of Old Aqsu to the charming house and garden outside the western gate which had been placed at our disposal. We were pleased to find that our host was the same Haji whose ranch at Yetim Döbe had been such a haven of refuge to us in the Tien Shan. Buried in trees, just far enough from the town to escape its noise and dust, the country house of Abdus Sattar Haji was a pleasant place indeed. A couple of hundred yards to the north ran the long line of perpendicular loess cliffs, forty or fifty feet high, which bound the city of Aqsu on the north and east and evidently mark an ancient channel of the Qum Ariq River. Under the level rays of the setting sun the place gave the impression of a marvellous piece of theatrical scene-painting; the tall white stems of the poplars and the rainbow-tinted autumn foliage blended perfectly with the warm grey-brown tones of the "drop-scene" of cliff in the background, and with the entirely mediæval walls and massive gates and bastions of the town.

[1] *Hierofalco altaiensis*, Turki *toighun*.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XVI

ALARUMS AND EXCURSIONS

WE returned from Keriya towards the end of May to find Kashgar in a ferment of excitement. For some time past I had known that there was trouble brewing for our local ogre, General Ma, "Titai" or Commander-in-Chief of the forces in the south-west of the province, and self-styled King of Kashgar. Since the famous lunch-party of July 1922, described in Chapter VI, the situation had developed. The old bandit, drunk with power and firmly believing that there was no one in all Central Asia strong enough to call him to account, surpassed all his previous records in oppression. He robbed, blackmailed, mutilated, slave-drove and otherwise tyrannized over the unfortunate inhabitants of the New City and district to his heart's content, snapping his fingers at the remonstrances of the Taoyin and other civil officials. Farmers and petty shopkeepers began to leave the country in large numbers nominally on pilgrimage to Mecca, but in reality to escape the tyranny of the "Padshah."

The interesting feature of the Titai's methods of self-enrichment was that they were not confined to those of the traditional Asiatic tyrant. There was a touch of the practical Chinese business man about him, for he did not content himself with merely transferring wealth from other people's pockets to his own; he created it. He claimed all the minerals of the country as the perquisite of the military authorities, and exploited them for his own benefit. His coal and copper-mines, his oil-wells and refinery, his jade-cutting factory and other enterprises, brought him large profits. As a capitalist his position was an enviable one; for he enjoyed a monopoly not only of raw materials, but also of armed force with which to secure cheap labour and push the sale of his products.

It would take too long to describe the various interesting

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

methods by which the unscrupulous General exploited his command. One illustration will suffice. The chief product of his shale-oil workings at Kanjugan, 30 miles west of Kashgar, was kerosene, which was in great request owing to the failure of the Russian supplies. This he sold at monopoly prices to the public, including ourselves at the Consulate. But for certain by-products of the New City refinery, such as paraffin wax, there was little demand. Accordingly in the winter of 1923–4, the Titai conceived the idea of portioning out the two towns into wards and appointing certain Begs and other trusty henchmen to distribute so much paraffin wax *per mensem* to each shopkeeper, whether he wanted it or not, at a fixed rate. The cobblers, who used wax in their trade, had to take double rations. Very soon complaints began to be heard, which were eventually voiced by the Aqsaqal or headman of the cobblers. He petitioned the Titai to let the cobblers off taking any more of his wax, as they were overstocked, besides which they preferred bees'-wax. The Titai's answer to this petition was to have the man beaten to death, and to fine his widow so heavily that she had to sell the house over her head to pay the fine. As might be expected, the underlings engaged in the distribution of the wax lined their own pockets liberally. They took to compounding with the shopkeepers at so much a head, and the forced sale developed into a regular monthly tax on shopkeepers. The distributors ceased to confine their depredations to the towns of Old and New Kashgar and sent agents all over the districts collecting the wax *gabelle* from petty shopkeepers in the remotest villages.

Apart from his industrial enterprises and his more direct methods of robbery and extortion, the Titai drew large sums from the Kashgar Treasury for the upkeep of the troops with which he was supposed to guard the frontier and garrison the towns. Needless to say, not a tenth of these sums was spent. The nominal strength of the Titai's forces was between 4,000 and 5,000; the actual number maintained may have been about 500. Most of these were quarter-trained, opium-sodden wretches who received neither pay, rations nor equipment, and lived on the country by virtue of the fear inspired by their terrible chief, and the antiquated (and in most cases quite useless) carbines they carried. But the Titai was wrong in thinking that he could eat his cake and have it, for his Gilbertian army proved his downfall.

THE LATE GENERAL MA, TITAI OF KASHGARIA [illegible]

622

MUHAMMADAN GUESTS, LED BY THE CHIEF QAZI, AT PRAYER IN THE GARDEN OF THE CONSULATE-GENERAL, KING'S BIRTHDAY RECEPTION, 1924

[Face p. 862]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

647 In February, 1924, were heard the first rumblings of the
622 storm. The reports of the civil officials and the petitions of the oppressed at last moved the Urumchi Government to action. Orders came from Urumchi, nominally emanating from Peking but really issued on the Governor's sole responsibility, dismissing the Titai and abolishing his post. The General refused to give up the seals of his office and defied the Governor's authority. At the same time, partly for
702 purposes of bluff and partly in order to cut the ground from under the feet of those who accused him of maintaining a paper army, he hastily enrolled some hundreds of recruits and gave large orders in the bazaars for new uniforms and boots. Something had also to be done about the forced sale of wax, the most unpopular of all his impositions. The Titai's pro-
622 cedure was characteristic. He arrested eight of his own wax-
681 distributing agents, charged them with collecting money from the people without his knowledge, and ordered their fingers and toes to be cut off joint by joint in the specially-constructed hay-chopping machine mentioned in a former chapter. Four of the men escaped or bought themselves off, the others were duly mutilated and exposed at the four gates of the city, their several limbs nailed to the wall behind them. One of the poor wretches had already died when I heard about this atrocity, but I had one of the others brought in by my orderlies and cared for by our Indian doctor; the Swedish missionaries did the same for the remaining two, and all three eventually recovered. It may be mentioned that one of them was a faithful servant of the Titai's who, when the latter's great wooden palace at Pakalik caught fire three years before, rushed into the room in which his master lay in a drunken sleep and carried him out of the burning building.

647 But the cup of the Titai's iniquities was full. It will be
669 remembered that on the road to Keriya I had heard of an ominous concentration of troops at Aqsu, 300 miles north-east of Kashgar. Information I received at Karghalik and Yarkand on the return journey showed that a considerable force had been collected and was shortly to march on Kashgar under the command of Erh Taoyin of Aqsu, and that Ma Titai was the objective. On the morning of Sunday 1st June, I had an early morning appointment some miles from the town, and was on my way back at half-past ten, when I was met by an orderly with a message from the Mir Munshi to the effect that there had been fighting at the New

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624
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Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI

[For information on the cadres - groups of especially-trained communist party officials employed in cooperatives and collectivization programs to train others in party programs - see category 668.]

towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Communists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz and Kazakhs are ruled by "bīks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

S
N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
127 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.

S
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
able resources.

S
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.
[597] Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.
[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.

S
563 The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
361 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
[622] the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
S in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.
Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

/Oirats/

563 621 593 562 return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.

The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of 563 622 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

[422] [233] Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

563 622 591 233 If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away from the family and establish himself independently, he can rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 622 233 428 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly among his children, with the exception of the eldest son, who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers. A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 621 The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 628 [626] If a crime is committed by a member of a particular "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative.

563 621 [65] [582] The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.

The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based 563 628 233 423 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of land from which they choose a part each summer and each winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another, the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 622 628 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen

S
563 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of
622 importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations,
628 internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc.
S This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.
S
792 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are
443 the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S There are slight differences in herd ownership and
563 management between the various tribes of the Western
619 Mongols. (They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or
233 "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red
422 tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

S Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related
[602] individuals while others do not. The basis for different
[609] types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with
563 other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of
177 history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition
S underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of
[184] authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N The Salars:
563 In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes
794 of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N To their new home the Salars brought with them the
[197] original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken
N [191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a
563 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems
794 in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among
177 the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and
184 Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family. The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul. A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals, on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led by a chieftain whose title is bäk, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led by one of the bäks of the great auls. Several clans together form a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a declined clan only has the function of an aul.

A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people by stating that he belongs a)to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended family). For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

614 563 common migrations, and military alliance, was forced to unite into a large grouping. Clan solidarity is extremely strong. Even after the old tribal constitution was abolished in Soviet Russia, workers of the same kholkhoz felt they belonged to a new clan and observed clan exogamy, which, in this case of course, had no genetic basis.

The oldest clans emerged many centuries ago and were named after totem-animals, or after famous tribal leaders (e.g., Özbeg Khan after whom the Uzbeks are named). Some of the Kirghiz clan names of totemistic origin are bugu "stag", sary bagish "yellow elk", chong bagish "great elek", etc. Among Turkomans one finds many clan names of totemistic origin, e.g., ak okuz "white ox", qara okuz "black ox", ailar "bear", burgut "hawk", due "camel", kulan "wild donkey". The aul, great-aul and clan are all connected by [602] [621] blood relationships real or imagined. The feeling of kinship is highly developed, and manifests itself in mutual assistance in military activities and in cases of cattle losses due to theft, disease, or lack of precipitation.

The clan assumes joint responsibilities for the welfare of the whole group, in general, and for the deeds committed by individual members of the clan. [672] The clan also takes collective action in cases of theft or murder suffered by any clan members. [681] Grazing land is never individual property but belongs to the aul, great-[423] aul or clan. Bäks and khans form the nobility which is called [565] aq süyek "white bone" in contrast to the commoners who are called qara süyek "black bones".

563 565 Most members of the nobility claim to be descendants of Chinghis Khan and a considerable number of the bäks and khans undoubtedly belong to the old steppe aristocracy. However, a wealthy patriarch, with a reputation for being a fair judge, who was chieftain of a numerically rich aul or great aul could become a tribal leader by popular consent.

The white bones regard marriage between white bones and black bones as unsuitable.

[569] In addition to the white bones and the black bones there exists a third stratum, consisting of descendants of slaves who were officially freed during the middle of the last century. They do not own herds, not even single heads of cattle, but function as shepherds, farmhands, servants, etc. However, some cases are known of poor farmhands (after the abolition of slavery in Russia in 1857 which affected the tribes living athwart the Sino-Russian border so that they too decided to abolish the institution of slavery about 1869) gradually acquiring cattle and therefore ascending into the higher stratum.

563 622 The Kirghiz are not ruled by a bäk or a khan, but by elders whose functions, however, are identical with those of the bäks and khans. The elders "manap" are elected by popular acclaim, and they, in turn, fall under the leadership of an aga-manap

563 "chief-elder". The charismatic character of such an elder is of
622 prime importance. His wealth, his public influence, his reputa-
[554] tion, his military ability and his moral integrity form the basis of his social status.

692 Internal order is maintained by unwritten common law. Judges
563 act by custom and conscience alone. When a cause of action arises,
671 the litigants, in lieu of blood-vengeance, agree to refer the matter to a court of their own choosing and to abive by its decision. Either both sides agree on one or two biks to settle the case, or each selects a bik, and a third man is chosen as arbiter. Civil and
[674] criminal law are not distinguished. Crimes are really torts, and
[681] can be settled out of court by compromise. Hence, the criminal is not punished; he simply pays damages, which represent a sort of compounding of the earlier lex talionis. Custom prescribes a
681 graded schedule of damages, ranging from a wergild (kun) of 100
563 horses, 1000 sheep, or 50 camels for homicide, through lesser payments in cattle for adultery, fraud, and serious personal injuries or assault, to a horse and a robe or skin for slander, breaking a finger or tooth, and minor assaults. The full wergild must be paid for killing a man, one-half for a woman or slave, and one-third for a child under ten. The circumstances and intent are not considered. However, a man pays no penalty for killing his child, slave or adulterous wife. For cattle theft, a man must restore the stolen animals and, in addition, pay twice their number as damages. For rape of an unbetrothed girl he must marry the girl, give her father the usual bride-price, and pay him a fine of nine head of cattle.

563 Usually before a boy reaches the age of ten, his father seeks
584 a wife for him. Neither the boy nor the girl has much voice in the transaction. Since the nomadic Turks practice strict clan
[614] exogamy the boy's father must select a girl of suitable qualifications from another clan. He then sends matchmakers to her
563 father to arrange the bride-price "kalym". Except where a
583 brother and sister are married by exchange to a sister and
584 brother, marriage is always by purchase. The bride-price, payable in horses, cattle, sheep and camels, varies with the means of the groom and the desirability of the bride, forty animals representing perhaps an average kalym. In return, the bride takes with her from her father's home a dowry, much inferior in value, consisting usually of a yurt, a riding horse or other animals, a chest of clothing, rugs, beddings, and other house-
[582] hold articles. Marriage is deferred until the children attain
[884] their majority.

/The New Uighurs/

S 563 178 [31] individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent S [464] times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S 563 438 622 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S 563 554 [631] [647] [692] Under the Manchu system the Büks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bük- local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bük -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bük - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bük - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bük - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bük - Superintendent of Agriculture.

S [312] As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bük was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bük who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

S 563 241 554 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Büks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

S 563 668 177 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

N B. The Sedentary Tibetans

N *563 [592] [361] Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to each other. N [342] The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading [771] element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their [642] system of government is patriarchal, control of the different [622] sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle rais- [241] ing. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters [184] made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of [354] the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash [353] simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. [251] Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs [231] occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, [353] wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is
342 often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by
352 the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are
353 also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is [415] an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its
252 products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

/Mongols of the Northwest/

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among